

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----007023 091520Z /46

O O 091751Z JUN 78 ZFF 4  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2949  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 18434

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: MOPS, PINR, CG  
SUBJ: DEMARCHE TO MOBUTU ON REFORM

REFS: A. STATE 145956. B. PARIS 17870.

1. LATE MORNING JUNE 9 QUAI AFRICA DIRECTOR GEORGY CALLED IN AMBASSADORS OR DCMS OF COUNTRIES REPRESENTED AT JUNE 5 MEETING ON ZAIRE TO DECIDE ON NATURE OF DEMARCHE TO BE MADE TO MOBUTU ON REFORMS. (DCM REPRESENTED U.S. EMBASSY ACCOMPANIED BY POLOFF.) GEORGY BEGAN MEETING BY EXPRESSING FRENCH PREFERENCE THAT DEMARCHES TO MOBUTU BE SEPARATE AND THAT PRESENTATION BE ORAL. PRESENTATION WOULD BE ON BASIS OF LIST OF RECOMMENDED REFORMS AGREED TO AT JUNE 5 MEETING.

2. BELGIAN REP (MUULS) SAID HE HAD INSTRUCTIONS IN ANOTHER SENSE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE DEMARCHE IN KINSHASA BE COLLECTIVE, BASED ON AN AGREED TEXT (WHICH HE THOUGHT SHOULD BE PRESENTED), AND THAT IT BE SECRET (REF A). HE SAID THAT BELGIAN CABINET  
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WAS DEBATING AND WOULD PROBABLY APPROVE THIS APPROACH THIS MORNING. US REP SUPPORTED THE BELGIAN POSITION. FRG REP WAS UNINSTRUCTED BUT AD REFERENDUM SUPPORTED THE BELGIAN AS DID THE UK. FACED WITH THIS MORE OR LESS COMMON POSITION OF THE OTHER REPS, FRENCH AGREED TO IT. THERE WAS AGREEMENT, AD REFERENDUM, THAT THE DEMARCHE BE COLLECTIVE, THAT A WRITTEN DOCUMENT

BE GIVEN TO MOBUTU AND THAT IT BE DONE WITHOUT PUBLICITY.

3. NONE OF THE OTHER REPS INITIALLY SHOWED PARTICULAR CONCERN THAT THE DEMARCHE BE MADE BEFORE THE BRUSSELS MEETING, BUT AGREED WITH US REP THAT INSTRUCTIONS SHOULD BE ISSUED IN TIME TO PERMIT A DEMARCHE ON MONDAY, IF POSSIBLE. THERE WAS A GENERAL FEELING THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO DO IT EARLIER AND THAT EVEN MONDAY MIGHT BE DIFFICULT.

4. AS TO THE DOCUMENT TO BE PRESENTED TO MOBUTU, FRENCH AND OTHER EUROPEANS WERE AGREED THAT IT SHOULD BE ESSENTIALLY THE TEXT OF THE LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS TO GOVERNMENT WORKED OUT AT THE JUNE 5 MEETING MODIFIED ONLY IN FORM SO AS TO BE SUITABLE TO PRESENT TO MOBUTU. THERE WAS A GENERAL FEELING MANIFESTED THAT THE DOCUMENT NOT BE ALTERED IN ANY SUBSTANTIAL WAY AS EVEN THE ATTEMPT TO DO SO WOULD OPEN UP THE WHOLE DOCUMENT TO POSSIBLE REVISION. THE FRENCH INSISTED, WITH THE OTHER EUROPEANS AGREEING, THAT THE EXAMPLES OF REFORM LISTED IN THE ANNEX TO THE JUNE 5 DOCUMENT SHOULD BE TRANSMITTED TO AMBASSADORS IN KINSHASA AND THAT THEY SHOULD MEET AND DETERMINE WHICH POINTS THEY FELT WOULD BE MOST SUITABLE FOR EACH COUNTRY TO PURSUE INDIVIDUALLY. (FRENCH SEEMED PARTICULARLY

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ULARLY CONCERNED NOT TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH A RECOMMENDATION ON BROADENING POWERS OF PRIME MINISTER.)

5. REPS THEN WENT OVER THE FRENCH LANGUAGE TEXT OF THE DOCUMENT ON REFORMS AGREED TO AT THE JUNE 5 MEETING. THROUGHOUT THIS EXERCISE ANY SUGGESTION FOR CHANGE APPEARING TO TOUCH EVEN SLIGHTLY ON SUBSTANCE WAS RESISTED. INFORMAL ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF TEXT AGREED TO AD REFERENDUM IS CONTAINED PARAGRAPH 7.

6. COMMENT: WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS ON SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR STRENGTHENING THE DOCUMENT WE DID NOT PROPOSE ANY CHANGES. IT WAS VERY CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT ANY PROPOSED CHANGES WOULD HAVE BEEN STRONGLY RESISTED. FROM THE PARIS PERSPECTIVE IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT PUSHING FOR CHANGES TO THE EXISTING DOCUMENT WILL OPEN A NEGOTIATING PROCESS WHICH COULD DRAG ON FOR SOME TIME. EVEN IF THE AMBASSADORS IN KINSHASA COULD RAPIDLY WORK OUT A NEW TEXT, WE THINK GETTING GOVERNMENTS TO AGREE TO NEW LANGUAGE WOULD TAKE A WHILE. WE DON'T BELIEVE THE

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----007170 091527Z /46

O O 091805Z JUN 78 ZFF 4  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
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INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

FRENCH ARE PREPARED TO GO MUCH FARTHER  
THAN THEY ALREADY HAVE. IT SEEMS, THEREFORE, THAT IF  
OUR INTEREST IS IN A RAPID DEMARCHE TO MOBUTU IT WILL  
PROBABLY HAVE TO BE DONE WITH THE ADMITTEDLY SOMEWHAT  
WEAK DOCUMENT DRAWN UP IN PARIS ON JUNE 5.

BEGIN TEXT:

"THE HIGH OFFICIALS WHO MET IN PARIS JUNE 5  
UNDERTOOK PROFOUND ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN  
ZAIRE IN THE LIGHT OF THE DIFFERENT REQUESTS FORMULATED  
BY AUTHORITIES IN KINSHASA.

"FOLLOWING THIS MEETING THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE  
DECIDED TO MAKE A CERTAIN NUMBER OF RECOMMENDATIONS TO  
PRESIDENT MOBUTU BY MEANS OF A DEMARCHE THROUGH THE  
INTERMEDIARY OF THEIR AMBASSADORS.

"THESE RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERN:

1. THE POLICY OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.
2. THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE REGIONAL  
ENTITIES OF ZAIRE IN THE NATIONAL LIFE OF THE COUNTRY.
3. THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE FUNCTIONING OF  
ZAIRE'S INSTITUTIONS.
4. THE REINFORCING OF THE ZAIRIAN DIPLOMATIC

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POSITION:

TO BOLSTER THE PRESENCE OF THE AFRICAN FORCE IN SHABA IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF STATES PARTICIPATING. IT IS, MOREOVER, NECESSARY TO UNDERTAKE DIPLOMATIC ACTION TO OBTAIN THE SUPPORT OF THE GREATEST NUMBER OF STATES IN VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND PARTICULARLY THE OAU.

THE AFRICAN FORCE ESTABLISHED IN SHABA HAVING A TEMPORARY CHARACTER IT IS INDISPENSABLE TO REESTABLISH A DURABLE BASE OF SECURITY IN THIS REGION. IN THIS PERSPECTIVE ZAIRE SHOULD:

A. ENCOURAGE A DIALOGUE WITH ANGOLA AND, AS A GENERAL RULE, DEVELOP RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING STATES.

B. EXPLORE ALL POSSIBILITIES OF MEDIATION WHICH CERTAIN AFRICAN STATES MIGHT OFFER.

C. DEVELOP CONSULTATIONS WITH STATES WHICH MIGHT PROVIDE ASSISTANCE IN AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

5. ECONOMIC POLICY:

"A. IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE AMBASSADORS OF THE FIVE GOVERNMENTS IN ZAIRE TO BE CHARGED WITH STUDYING, WITH THE ZAIRE GOVERNMENT, THE MEANS OF ASSURING THAT ALL ESSENTIAL IMPORTS OF URGENT AID CORRESPOND TO TRUE PRIORITY NEEDS, ARE DISPATCHED IN AN EFFICIENT MANNER, AND ARE DISTRIBUTED DIRECTLY TO THE FINAL USERS.

"B. THE FIVE DRAW THE ATTENTION OF PRESIDENT MOBUTU AND HIS GOVERNMENT TO THE IMPORTANCE OF APPROACHING THE FORTHCOMING DISCUSSIONS RELATIVE TO A PLAN OF RECOVERY AND STABILIZATION BY TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE NECESSITY OF ZAIRE'S IMPLEMENTING MAJOR  
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REFORMS OF ITS ECONOMY AND IN THE FUNCTIONING OF ITS ADMINISTRATION. THE FIVE CITE AS AN EXAMPLE THE CONTROL AND REPATRIATION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE WITH THE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE ON THE ONE HAND OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, NOTABLY THE IMF, AND ON THE OTHER HAND THROUGH FOREIGN EXPERTS ENJOYING A LARGE DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY." END TEXT.  
HARTMAN

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## Message Attributes

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**Draft Date:** 09 jun 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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20 Mar 2014  
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